ED 381 069 HE 028 192

AUTHOR Immerwahr, John; Boese, Jill
TITLE Preserving the Higher Education Legacy: A Conversation with California Leaders. Report No. 95-3.
INSTITUTION California Higher Education Policy Center, San Jose.
PUB DATE Mar 95
NOTE 33p.
AVAILABLE FROM California Higher Education Policy Center, 160 West Clara St., Suite 704, San Jose, CA 95113.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS College Administration; *Educational Attitudes; *Educational Change; *Educational Finance; *Educational Policy; Educational Quality; *Higher Education; *Leaders; Paying for College; Professional Education; Public Policy; Student Costs
IDENTIFIERS *California

ABSTRACT

This study reports the results of confidential, in-depth interviews with 29 business, education, and community leaders in California to determine their attitudes toward the higher education needs of the state. The interviews examined areas of consensus and controversy in many facets of higher education policy. The most important findings included: (1) a sense of the importance of higher education and of the urgency of change if California is to maintain its tradition of broad access to high quality education; (2) a belief that higher education must make major changes, analogous to the restructuring that is occurring in the corporate and governmental sectors, to control costs and protect quality; (3) a concern that policy discussions in higher education and the state have become insulated and ineffective; and (4) a recognition of absence of any public process or forum in California for addressing fundamental issues, particularly goals and public purposes of higher education and its supporting policies. An appendix contains methodological notes and the names of the participants in the study. A list of related publications is included. (MDM)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED 381 069

# PRESERVING THE HIGHER EDUCATION LEGACY

## A Conversation with California Leaders

A Report from

THE CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY CENTER

**March 1995**

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

P. Callan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

HE 028 192

# PRESERVING THE HIGHER EDUCATION LEGACY:

## A Conversation with California Leaders

By John Immerwahr
with Jill Boese

Prepared by Public Agenda
for The California Higher Education Policy Center

March 1995

# Table of Contents

Foreword ..... iii

Introduction ..... v

Section One: General Principles ..... 1

Section Two: Specific Recommendations ..... 7

Section Three: Controversies ..... 12

Section Four: Ambiguities ..... 15

Afterword ..... 17

Appendix: Methodology ..... 18

About Public Agenda ..... 20

Related Publications by Public Agenda ..... 23

# Foreword

Over the past two years the California Higher Education Policy Center has asked the Public Agenda organization to explore the views of Californians on their state's system of higher education. *Preserving the California Legacy*, which reports the most recent project, reinforces Public Agenda's earlier efforts, especially in calling attention to the need for a new and broadly based forum for examining and resolving higher education policy issues critical to California's future.

In 1994, Public Agenda conducted a series of focus groups in California communities. These were followed by a statewide public opinion poll later that year, and the findings of both projects were summarized in *The Closing Gateway* (September 1993). This report reflected significant public consensus that California should provide opportunity to those qualified and motivated to seek higher education, along with growing public anxiety that opportunity is decreasing. Californians told us they wanted a higher education system built around opportunity, personal responsibility, individual motivation, and reciprocity—the belief that people should give something back for what they receive. Support for innovation and change in higher education was offset by considerable skepticism about the restriction of opportunity through price increases and enrollment reductions, the two prominent approaches that state and educational policy makers have adopted in recent years.

More recently, the Center asked Public Agenda to discuss higher education with a group of California leaders who were identified with the assistance of an advisory committee. *Preserving the California Legacy* reports on these conversations. The most important findings include:

- A sense of the importance of higher education and of the urgency of change if California is to maintain its tradition of broad access to high quality education.

- A belief that higher education must make major changes—analogous to the restructuring that is occurring in the corporate and governmental sectors—to control costs and protect quality.

- A concern that policy discussions in higher education and the state have become insulated and ineffective.

- A recognition of absence of any public process or forum in California for addressing fundamental issues, particularly the goals and public purposes of higher education and its supporting policies.

In her "Afterword," Deborah Wadsworth, Executive Director of Public Agenda, reinforces the necessity for California to create "public space" for statewide discussion of higher education's future. She notes the need to raise the visibility of higher education on the political agenda and the belief of many of California's leaders that higher priority is unlikely without a special effort.

At the time of release of this report, it is anything but certain that such an effort will be made or how it might function. An effective process, however, will eventually have to address the insularity of current policy discussions, and it will have to incorporate viewpoints that go beyond small groups of educational

administrators and state politicians who are directly responsible for policy. An effective process must be *open* to participation of the concerned public and to ideas that go beyond those currently under consideration by policy makers. The broad *public interest* in higher education is more critical to higher education's future than the sometimes parochial views of professional educators. A new forum must reach the most fundamental goals and policies, questioning organizational and fiscal patterns that have well served the state and the colleges in the past but may be less useful in the future.

In its three projects and two reports on California higher education, Public Agenda has provided both invaluable resources for addressing higher education's future and models for engaging the general public and leaders in the conversation. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the opinions expressed in the focus groups, surveys and interviews, the reporting of these views provides a check against insular or short-sighted higher education policy. Moreover, these views offer an opportunity for those engaged in higher education policy to *listen* to the public and to leaders of other sectors.

The Center is grateful to the leaders who generously contributed their time, energy and ideas to this project and whose deep and abiding concern for the future of California higher education infused the project and this report. We are grateful to John Immerwahr, Jill Boese and Deborah Wadsworth for their creative and enthusiastic leadership of this project and for their many contributions to our understanding of public perceptions of higher education.

The Center welcomes the responses of readers to our reports.

*Patrick M. Callan*
*Executive Director*
*California Higher Education Policy Center*

# Introduction

*In the fifties and sixties California had the greatest educational system that had ever existed anywhere on the face of the earth. You had high quality public elementary and secondary schools, high quality universities, and costs were nominal; all the student had to do was to stay alive. In broader social terms it was highly desirable in that it provided for upward mobility for those who chose to make the effort. Today, I will pay more tuition for my child to go to third grade in private school than I paid for college and law school combined. I personally don't care because I am rich and I can afford it. But I got a chance to be rich because education was available at virtually no cost. My parents didn't have the money and I didn't play baseball. But what about the family that is situated today the way mine was in the fifties? You create a lack of promise that has widespread implications; it creates a have and have-not society which is the last thing we want.*

—California business executive

California's higher education system has historically been the jewel in the state's generally glittering crown. Today that legacy can no longer be taken for granted: higher education is beset with the simultaneous threats of higher costs, decreasing state support, and what Clark Kerr calls "Tidal Wave II," a new influx of college-age students (many of them minority members) who will flood the system in much the same way that the baby boom did.

In 1993 the Public Agenda, at the request of The California Higher Education Policy Center, conducted an extensive survey of public attitudes toward higher education in California and presented the survey results in a study called *The Closing Gateway*. That study documented Californians' fears that just as higher education was becoming more important than ever before, it was also becoming less accessible.

To further broaden the conversation about public higher education in California, the Public Agenda has now conducted a series of confidential in-depth interviews with twenty-nine leaders from around the state. For the most part, these leaders are neither higher education professionals nor policy makers directly involved in legislation regarding higher education (for more details about the respondents, see appendix). What they have in common is that they hold prominent leadership positions in a variety of fields. Their views, which we highlight in this report, thus provide another piece of the picture which we hope will be helpful to those who are dealing with higher education issues in California today. In this introduction we briefly summarize the key findings from the leadership interviews and compare and contrast leadership views to what we found among the general public. In the main body of the report we describe the leadership views in more detail, illustrating our comments with extensive quotations from the respondents themselves.

**We repeatedly heard calls for a radical restructuring of higher education, analogous to some of the corporate restructuring that has gone on over the last twenty years.**

The following four main points of comparison with the attitudes of the general public help define what we found among our leadership interviewees.

## 1. Vast Differences in Knowledge of Higher Education

**The Public:** In our interviews with members of the public around the state, we found a great deal of concern about higher education but relatively low levels of knowledge and understanding. Most people in California, especially those who do not have a college degree themselves, know relatively little about the internal workings of higher education.

**Leaders:** Our leadership respondents, by contrast, are extremely knowledgeable about higher education. They are intimately familiar with the terms of the Master Plan (indeed, some were involved in its inception), many have served on higher education boards of one sort or another, and most follow higher education issues closely in the news media and through their professional contacts.

## 2. A Similar Definition of the Problem

Despite the vast gulf between the knowledge base of the two groups, both share a remarkably similar definition of the problem.

**The Public:** For the public, the key issue is a clash between two seemingly inexorable trends. On the one hand, college education is perceived as increasingly important for entrance into the American middle class. At the same time, people in California believe that access to higher education has become increasingly difficult and will become even more difficult in the future.

**Leaders:** Our leaders make the same point: in our interviews, they constantly stressed the importance of the state's tradition of high-quality, low-cost education, and their fears that this important resource is increasingly threatened.

The primary concern for both groups, in other words, is that without major changes, the gateway that was so instrumental in creating California's well-educated middle class will be slammed in the face of a new generation of Californians, precisely at a time when education is more important than it ever has been.

## 3. Different Perspectives on the Solution

Although their analysis of the problem may be similar, our leaders have a rather different perspective on the nature of the solution. To put the difference in a nutshell, the public is primarily worried about the price of higher education (that is, the prices paid directly by students and their families), and they are looking for someone, government perhaps, to help them pay it. The leaders, by contrast, are primarily worried about the cost of higher education (both in terms of the cost to the state's taxpayers and in terms of why it costs so much to provide higher education). Leaders feel that higher education itself must be a major part of the solution.

*Higher Education and Health Care:* To a remarkable degree, higher education issues can be helpfully compared to health care. Public Agenda's research suggests that for the most part people are satisfied with the health care they are receiving, but they are concerned that they or their families may one day find that they can no longer afford it. What they are looking for is not radical change in the health care system, but changes that guarantee their access to the existing health care system. Leaders, by contrast, frequently stress the need to reform the health care system itself, since they feel that access cannot be guaranteed if the health care system remains as it is.

We found much the same dialectic going on between leaders and the public in California on higher education.

**The Public:** While the public definitely wants changes to ensure the continued affordability of higher education, they are not, at the moment, calling for systemic reforms in the way higher education is organized. What people respond to most enthusiastically are changes in the way that higher education is funded; they are especially attracted to ideas such as work-study programs that will provide students with ways to pay for their own education.

**Leaders:** The leaders we interviewed, however, believe that higher education itself must make major changes if it is to preserve its viability. They are not optimistic that government spending will be able to improve the situation or even maintain the status quo. As a result, they are convinced that higher education must be prepared to make major changes to hold down escalating costs. We repeatedly heard calls for a radical restructuring of higher education, analogous to some of the corporate restructuring that has gone on over the last twenty years. Our interviewees continually referred to specific redundancies and inefficiencies in higher education which they felt could be profitably eliminated. Their concern is not just to lower the price tag for higher education, but to ensure the financial viability of higher education. They do not think that this can be done without radical changes in higher education itself, and they think the state's higher education institutions have only begun to face the challenge.

## 4. Pessimism about the Process

**The Public:** As might be expected in a state that has been suffering from a sluggish economy for a number of years, we heard a great deal of pessimism in our discussions with members of the general public. The clearest exemplification of this was a widely shared frustration with state government, and a feeling that funds for projects such as higher education were being misdirected and misspent, coupled with a sense of widespread corruption in state government at all levels.

**Leaders:** We also heard a surprising degree of pessimism among the leaders. In contrast to the public, the leaders did not focus on the moral failings of educational bureaucracies but on a perceived bankruptcy in the process for debating and discussing critical issues such as higher education. There was a widely shared view that decision making has broken down, and that the debate has become insulated and ineffective. There is a sense that the issues are great but that no one is really facing up to them.

SECTION ONE

# General Principles

Although much of our discussion revolved around specific recommendations for the future of higher education, certain general themes also emerged from the interviews.

**1. CONSENSUS: Higher education issues in California are extremely serious and should be at the very top of the state's agenda.**

The future of higher education in California is regarded as an extremely serious issue by almost all of the leaders interviewed. The general feeling is that California's dual tradition of high quality and affordable fees was one of the state's very strongest resources, and that it faces serious dangers in the years to come. Indeed, many of our panelists are themselves graduates of the California system, and they stressed the importance to their own lives of access to the best schools in the nation at an affordable price. Perhaps the best indication of their concern is their eagerness to talk to us. Despite the extremely busy schedules of the people we contacted, only a handful of people turned down our requests for interviews. People were generally eager to talk to us and thanked us for doing something about this important issue. The quotes speak for themselves:

*(a) Higher education is my number one concern. Higher education is failing to provide an outstanding educational experience for those who can benefit from it; they are short on money, short on facilities and enrollment is falling off. Because of our large population the need is greater than ever before.*

*(b) I've been following higher education issues for a long time. One of the principal concerns to me is access, and on this one the toothpaste is long since out of the tube. There was a time when a person could attend outstanding universities here at both the graduate and undergraduate level for a low cost. That has gone already and I don't know what the future holds.*

*(c) This topic is terribly important because education is the most important infrastructure in our country. It is the one piece without which we won't have any other infrastructure.*

*(d) The issue that seems to me most important is the problem of providing higher education to everyone who wants it on an affordable cost and in a reasonable time. Today the state is in bad financial shape, fees have been raised and it takes a long time to get an education.*

*(e) This is important because disproportionately, women and persons of color have been affected by the insensitivity of higher education to respond to their needs. Every negative change we have talked about impacts most heavily on minority students. If we don't take a renewed look, we are going to continue to develop a society of classes. Something which seems as simple as higher fees can really begin to drive a chasm between those who can afford schools and those who can't. As those fees*

*become bigger, the students segregate out more and mix less and are less exposed to one another.*

**2. CONSENSUS: The state does not have an effective process for dealing with higher education issues.**

Despite the importance of higher education issues, our respondents were nearly unanimous in saying that the state is not dealing with the issue in an effective way. The respondents continually stressed that there is no process in place to deal with the issues and resolve them. We heard numerous complaints about the lack of focus on this issue in the recent governor's race and about the ineffectiveness of the Board of Regents, the Legislature and the universities themselves to deal with the issue. Several people called for some sort of high level commission to refocus the state on the priority issues, but many expressed lack of optimism about the ability of any group to refocus the state's attention on the issue.

*(a) What do I think of the process for dealing with these issues? What process? I don't think we have a process for dealing with them.*

*(b) When the baby boom came along, the attitude then was "Get it done." In terms of percentage change in the number of students that was much more onerous than what we are facing today. No one was turned away, we took care of them all, just as we had with the GIs. In both cases as soon as people realized that there was a problem there was a drive to solve it. Today I don't see anyone driving hard to solve the problem. I don't see anyone facing up to it. I don't see it on any of the state university boards, or in the community colleges. That is what is most missing, a sense of determination to solve the problem. That is what really bothers me.*

*(c) This issue is not where it should be on the state's agenda. We are spending much too much time in the governor's race on who is strong enough on crime and capital punishment. This issue should be right at the top or the whole infrastructure will suffer.*

*(d) There is a very skewed discussion with no real oversight. The existing system doesn't perform any meaningful function other than preserving the status quo.*

*(e) Until a decade ago, California thought that it was exempt from the problems about higher education that everyone else was facing. It has made addressing the problems even more painful than in some other states. I was in a panel with a number of UC people, and what I noted was a defensive insularity. If an idea was proposed they said, "Who are these guys, and what do they know about higher education?"*

*(f) It would be interesting to engage the entire state on the question of the future of higher education. The discussion of the issue would be as important as the solution. Would it be possible to make education the kind of political issue that immigration is today? Despite the stupidity with which the immigration issue has been debated, at least everyone is engaged and has a view.*

*(g) I can't imagine politicians having the discussion. It would need to be a partnership of stakeholders, including business educators and leaders.*

*(h) I don't have the answers but it is clear to me that, as a state, the leadership doesn't have any consensus as to where we are going. They have not thought through the choice between a liberal education versus the needs of the job market. The faculty just go on teaching whatever they want to teach, and are primarily caught up in doing prestige things that will make their individual school more prestigious. It may be very well, but it gets us away from what we are supposed to be doing.*

*(i) I have been in meetings with the people who run all three levels. They are OK when they are in the room together, but as soon as they leave the room and start competing for dollars it falls apart, they all become politicians.*

*(j) If you go back to the time of the Master Plan you see that in those days the state's leadership thought that it was an absolute imperative to have a good education system. We have fallen away from that. Politicians have come to see education as a cost rather than an investment.*

**3. CONSENSUS: California's public higher education system will need to make major changes if it is to continue to be a viable institution.**

Nearly everyone we interviewed feels that even the current status quo cannot continue. While there might be disagreement about the size of the projected increase, nearly everyone agrees that the number of potential students is on the rise. And there is a widely shared view that, as matters currently stand, higher education will have a tough time even holding its own in the competition for state resources. As most of the panelists analyze the situation, the taxpayers are unwilling to pay more in taxes, economic growth will be limited, much of the budget is already committed, and there is fierce competition for the money that the Legislature and the Governor actually have control over. While our respondents are distressed by the idea that the money goes to things such as crime prevention ahead of higher education, even the idea of stabilizing state support at its current level seems optimistic to many of our respondents. Instead they see further decline in the state's ability and willingness to finance higher education.

In one way or another, nearly all of our respondents believe that higher education itself will need to make major changes. While they may not agree on the shape of those changes, they nearly all think that major revisions are necessary. A theme that we heard over and over is that higher education will be required to go through a restructuring analogous to what has been seen in industry, and that the process has just begun.

*(a) I have watched corporate restructuring closely. Over the last 20 years we have seen a devolution of the initiative of responsibility downward and outward, with fewer layers of bureaucracy and greater customer orientation. Now we have seen in the last few years the same thing has been happening in what is faddishly called "reinventing government." It is really a belated recognition that the federal agencies and private corporations are both large-scale, intricately organized systems that have serious ailments. There is no doubt in my mind that the universities have the same ailments and will have to go through the same process.*

*(b) There should be some kind of shakeup or a commission of some sort that looks at the goals of education—which should be to create the best education for the most people—and then gets tough with the elements that are counterproductive of that goal. This is what we do in the private sector; we are constantly re-evaluating and being tough about what we do, and if we don't do that we'll be killed. There ought to be some of that force of credibility and accountability in education too. Sometimes I think that the only real way to fix it would be to close the whole damn thing down and start all over again.*

*(c) In one area that I follow closely, I know that the UC system spends about four times as much as a commercial firm would for the same service. I don't know where the money is going because they pay the vendors less than commercial firms pay them.*

*(d) I think higher education should take a look at some of the leaders in industry, people who have to work the bottom line and who can't afford to let bureaucracies soak up all of the money. Industry is showing the*

*(b) We can't continue to guarantee access to all qualified students. There just isn't enough money in the bank. Students should be asked to support more of their education.*

*(c) There is too much histrionics about rapidly escalating fees. It is a symptom of the problem but not the problem.*

*(d) I am not convinced that declining enrollments are related to increasing fees. I have seen shocking numbers about people dropping out of high school and of people getting through high school without the ability to go on. Is what is keeping them out the fees or is it those other factors?*

*(e) The statement that community college fees have gone up 260 percent is misleading, because you are starting from a base of practically zero. The fees are probably not above average state university fees in other states. Some places, like Michigan, have semi-privatized their state education systems.*

*(f) There are declining enrollments, but I am not sure we know why. Part of it can be rising costs creating barriers, but part of it may be changing demographics. Perhaps the colleges are not perceived as inviting, the values of recent immigrants may be different.*

SECTION TWO

# Specific Recommendations

We also presented our panelists with capsule summaries of specific recommendations which had been made in *Time for Decision*, a report prepared by The California Higher Education Policy Center in March. Many panelists agreed that a set of recommendations from the report should at least be explored. The differences were more a matter of how much caution should be exercised and how much savings could be realized.

**1. CONSENSUS: Use existing facilities more efficiently**.

There is a widely shared perception that the existing facilities could be used much more efficiently through implementing a 12-month academic year and using facilities more efficiently during the day. The only cautionary notes were that some of these ideas had been explored in the past and had been less successful than anticipated. Nonetheless, most people think there is room for considerable savings in this area.

*(a) The damn law school sits there for three months without anyone using it; why don't we open it for more students? We are supposedly worried about competitive faculty salaries, so perhaps we could pay the faculty for the summer. We do have to take a fundamental look at facilities and costs.*

*(b) In Russia they are running the labs and libraries 24 hours a day. I think we may come to that.*

*(c) I walk across the UC Davis campus in the afternoon. You could shoot a gun in any direction and you might hit someone but you probably wouldn't because of the low use of campus after 4:00 PM and on weekends. More efficient use [of the campus] could give you gains in terms of facilities.*

*(d) We need to make much better use of current facilities. Some people will say we tried it and it didn't work, but we can make it work better.*

*(e) I am all in favor of year-round school. I don't see a whole lot of need for a three month break just because it is summer now.*

*(f) I am an absolute proponent of year-round education at all levels. We are wasting significant amounts of natural resources. It goes back to this: we have too many people coming into the pipeline. You can throw more money at the problem or you can start thinking about the pipeline itself. Maybe you can increase the speed on the conveyer belt or reduce the stops along the conveyor belt (namely, require fewer credits).*

**2. CONSENSUS: Increase progressivity in the way students and their families pay for higher education**.

There was a good deal of support for introducing greater progressivity in the means by which students pay for higher education, but there were differences about how this should work out. Some favored what might be called a high-fee, high-scholarship model. Others

wanted the state to explore long-term loans so that students paid back educational costs in proportion to their income. Others were concerned more progressive fees would impact negatively on either the middle class or the poor, depending on how they were implemented.

*(a) The best principle would be to peg educational costs to a loan to be repaid in some way on the basis of income.*

*(b) This gets us into the social issue—those that have resources subsidizing those that don't. If you don't provide the opportunity for those who are less well off, you create social problems. I think that it is a mistake to have a tiered tuition structure. If we are going to help lower income families that should be done through scholarships. Generally I think the tuition should be the same for all but it is OK to have more scholarships for those who can't pay as much.*

*(c) A family that can choose between Stanford and Berkeley for their child should pay more like what they would pay at Stanford if they can afford it. Generally it makes sense to not subsidize people who can afford it.*

*(d) Progressive systems are difficult to administer. I'm really concerned about all of these students who come out of school with major debt that they have to face. With all of the restructuring that has been going on the private sector, the pay levels are not significant, then they are faced with debt. I think that if you were to raise the fees at these public institutions, even with scholarships it would be a disincentive for a great number of young people.*

*(e) It makes sense to introduce progressivity; I've argued that there should be means testing for scholarships. Many private universities use need-based scholarships. Some ways are more appetizing than others. I could support a higher fee structure and provide means-tested scholarships.*

*(f) I think we should explore more progressivity but I am concerned about the middle class. Higher fees plus scholarships tend to hurt middle-class people.*

*(g) I would be opposed to a system where they increased the fees and also increased the scholarships. What you would find is that the scholarships would be the first thing that gets cut; then you would just have the high fees.*

**3. CONSENSUS: Explore new uses of technology to increase educational productivity.**

Not surprisingly, most of our respondents thought that new technologies in higher education should be explored. The differences here were more a matter of degree of enthusiasm. Some of our panelists see great savings here, and believe that the universities are dragging their feet in this area as well as others. Others urge more caution, and stress downsides as well.

*(a) If you look at industry, they are sending people home with equipment. In some industries they have found that they can't afford to support a large staff, so rather than demoralize everyone by layoffs they have found a way to do it by letting people work at home and use the office as a meeting place.*

*(b) There are tremendous savings possible: for example, in lecture classes, you could have the greatest lecturers in the world with a live instructor there. Then you could stop the video, go back and discuss it. You could have Albert Einstein giving the lecture on quantum physics, and you could also have classes where there would be an individual instructor.*

*(c) Youngsters are comfortable with new technology and the potential of doing some course preparation by computer is powerful. It doesn't substitute for classes. Perhaps students could do a good part of hearing the lecture by video by computer,*

*and then have the class work be much more hands on, one session per week of tutorial with several hours of lecture resulted in a lot more learning. It would take an enormous amount of retraining of the faculty.*

*(d) Efficiency gains are obviously possible, particularly for courses where there is no human contact, especially where there are freshman survey courses where kids sit and there are no discussions just lectures. If there are 250 why not make it 2,000? But higher education should also offer classes for ten to twenty students where there is real dialogue.*

*(e) CSU has nineteen campuses, and suppose at each of them someone offers an intro lecture course in one subject. Do we need to do that nineteen times? It seems to me we ought to be able to produce a better way of delivering that instruction than to have someone standing in front of a class in nineteen places. Maybe you want more small groups, one to one, discussions, labs. There is an enormous amount of redundancy and overlap; technology might help to reduce it.*

*(f) New technology is clearly a way to use reduce expenditures; teachers in Davis can teach nine classes around the state, with TAs in different classes. I think there is benefit with new tech but you can lose the benefit of [in-class] educational experience.*

*(g) There are possibilities there: it is something to be explored, not something to be grabbed at. There is a great tendency to say, hey the information superhighway, let's get on. It still has to be tested, there may be marginal gains, I'd like to see.*

*(h) I don't know what it means. I can understand how computers can do things at home that you didn't have to go to school to do; there is computer assisted exchange of education. I can think of things that promise some kind of efficiency, but I remember when they said that TV would dramatically alter higher education but it hasn't made any significant impact. I am skeptical that technology is going to offer solutions to these problems. Obviously, technology has got all kinds of educational ramifications, but whether it will solve all of the problems I don't know.*

*(i) New technologies bring both promise and risk, and the phrase "appropriate technology" has as much relevance in education as it does to manufacturing.*

**4. CONSENSUS: Focus state support on a few high quality graduate and professional programs.**

Many of our respondents think that higher education can be more selective than it has been in supporting graduate and professional programs. Here again, the support is a function of degree. No one says that what the state needs most is more graduate programs, and most people think some consolidation is possible. The difference is in the amount of redundancy that is perceived. Some of the panelists feel that there is a great deal of room here, while others urge caution and selectivity.

*(a) There should be much more selectivity in funding graduate programs. The longing to be a full-service university, with all of the offerings is really a big mistake. Every state college wants to get there, they all want to have everything under the sun.*

*(b) The idea is that every one of these nine UC campuses wants to be a full-blown university with every form of grad program doesn't make sense. They are inching toward some consolidation but not fast enough.*

*(c) Every university campus wants to be their own total university but the concept is the synergistic relation of each part to the whole. There should be one law school and you go to that law school. We have Bolt, Davis, and UCLA—and now San Diego wants one. They operate under a self-*

*imposed criteria: to be a true university you need to have everything. It might be true if you are Notre Dame, but we are the University of California; it should be looked at as a system.*

*(d) There are opportunities here. We can't afford or and don't need nine complete universities. Why does Berkeley need an agriculture program? No one wants to bite the bullet; there are examples of redundancy throughout the system. We need to ask whether the state needs or can afford five law schools, and how one consolidates. I would expand consolidation well beyond graduate and professional programs.*

*(e) It is my observation that there are a great number of classes that are offered in CSU system and UC system and are perhaps desirable and nice, but are not all that necessary. There should be a close examination of the entire curriculum. Let's focus more on what is actually needed to educate people in the basic majors. Then if they want to take some of these additional courses, those courses could be offered outside of the basic degree. When resources are tight you need to find ways to key in on insuring that students can get a good solid basic education in the degree of their choice, but we can reduce some of the courses outside of the degree programs. Cost savings will come in by reducing the number of professors available to teach all of these courses. If students want to take those courses, they would have to pay for it themselves.*

*(f) Reducing the number of graduate programs is a sound approach, but you have to take into consideration, students are not able to handle the additional cost associated with additional travel and perhaps room and board.*

*(g) I would tend to doubt that California can do with fewer public law schools. They are among the best in the world, and I don't think that combining them offers any prospect of significant savings. UC Berkeley is an enormous institution. Compared to that the cost of the law school is tiny, but it is of enormous value to the state. I don't think there is much to be saved there.*

*(h) There is something to be said for creating niches of excellence, but you also need some aggregation of people and resources. That again takes a lot of thoughtful review. For example, if you remove a biochem division the people who are involved in psychobiology, computer sciences and biology can be affected as well.*

**5. CONSENSUS: Review teaching loads, especially in the UC system.**

Most of our respondents think that there are some savings to be gained here, that some professors could teach more and that in some cases there is too much emphasis on research and not enough on teaching. Once again, the responses vary in intensity. On the one hand, some people regard current teaching loads, especially in UC, as scandalously light. Others urge greater incentives for teaching and support for some professors teaching more, but also stress the importance of research and grant writing.

*(a) The doctrine has gotten established that teaching loads should be light because there must be time for research. The corollary is that every professor is a born researcher and therefore needs the time to do research. In my judgment a fraction of the faculty are qualified by their gifts or their preparation to do creative research, and the remainder are getting a free ride. They fill the journals with less creative stuff. My inclination would be to increase the teaching loads, and give exemptions for those who are of proven distinction, a research status that absolutely had to be proven and judged by peers, and awarded to a limited number of the faculty. Most teachers are not born or trained to really*

*advance the research in their fields; they do marginal or trivial work. There should be a lot more credit for good teaching, a lot more honor for good teaching so that good teachers are not perceived as second-class citizens.*

*(b) At the time of the Master Plan the average professor at UC spent twice as much time in the classroom as today, and UC was in a golden age then. It has gone down from nine hours per week to four and one half.*

*(c) Everyone who looks at the educational system thinks that teachers ought to be able to teach more than four courses. I think teaching is unbelievably difficult, so I would be more interested in ways to put in improvement schemes for teaching, both in terms of incentives for good teaching and constant review and opportunities to work with professors on their teaching. Education has left teachers alone, and I don't think it makes a lot of sense. I think the incentives are skewed away from teaching toward research.*

*(d) The idea of heavier teaching loads has been kicked around for years, going back to the Reagan administration. Especially in the UC system there is tremendous resistance. For the most part it is beneficial to the state to have the strong research continuum, but it needs to be monitored closely. I don't know if you will see much of a change.*

*(e) I think there is more emphasis on research and writing, which is more likely to lead to promotion and advancement.*

*(f) I don't think that increasing the teaching load for faculty is necessarily a good idea. The reality is that many of those teachers, especially in the sciences, are spending time in the labs, working up grant proposals. Reducing the teaching load reduces grant money, and hurts the revenue side. It is a nice, simple, easy issue to focus on but it is more counterproductive than it looks.*

SECTION THREE

# Controversies

Several of the recommendations we tested with the panel were highly controversial. Rather than finding basic agreement with qualifications, some of our respondents think these recommendations are a good idea, while others find them troubling.

**1. CONTROVERSY: A three-year bachelor's degree for some programs?**

Some of our respondents think that a three-year bachelor's degree is obviously a good idea. They have thought about it for a number of years and have made up their minds in favor. Others argue against it, suggesting that college is also a social maturation period that shouldn't be hurried, or that shortening the degree will just mean cheapening it. There is much more receptivity, however, to encouraging more students to begin college work in their last year of high school, and there is a great deal of concern that classes should be available so that it is possible for people to finish a degree in four years.

*(a) Three-year bachelor's degree, it is unquestionably a good idea. There is not the slightest question about it.*

*(b) I have long thought either that we can do more in less time, or do more in the same amount of time. If you look at other institutions around the world, many expect more from their students. It is obviously the kind of thing we ought to be looking at.*

*(c) The idea of a three-year bachelor's degree is more of what I call the watering down aspect in higher education. We don't want to tell people they need more, but the tendency is to water things down until it is almost irrelevant. We say, "do more with less," but the way that would come out, if it were put on the institutions, is that we would be getting less for more money.*

*(d) Some pretty smart people in higher education think it makes sense to shorten the degree program itself. The idea appeals to me if it involves including more in the limited time, and maybe some combination of eliminating duplication between the last year of high school and some college requirements, but also being very demanding in the three years. It seems to me that the three years would have to be thought through more carefully. If we look at a situation where the resources aren't there for business as it was, then you look at ways of accomplishing desired goals in the light of reduced resources. A serious look at whether a BA could be done in less time should be part of that.*

*(e) A three-year bachelor's degree doesn't make sense. If you are going to go to three, why not go to two years, and if California does it alone a student from California will be at a comparative disadvantage to a student from Michigan.*

*(f) My instinct is that a three-year bachelor's degree misses the other function of higher education, which is socializing young people. But if we were to have some kind of serious national service program then it*

*would make sense, and perhaps after a maturing year of service young people could accomplish their academic work in a shorter period.*

**2. CONTROVERSY: Higher fees for professional schools?**

Several of our respondents firmly believe that many of the state's graduate professional programs—law school, medical school, business school—should charge fees similar to those charged by private institutions. Others stress that state-supported professional schools are an important source of upward mobility for minorities and low-income people.

*(a) Leaders and policy makers come out of the professions, particularly law. We may have too many lawyers in general, but we don't have nearly enough Latino students in law schools.*

*(b) Young people who are otherwise eligible and qualified to get those types of degrees shouldn't be excluded because they can't afford it.*

*(c) It is important to provide a professional opportunity to people who couldn't afford a real competitive tuition. Upward mobility and a different career path are made possible by a lower cost structure. I have the same concerns with increased fees at the graduate as at the undergraduate level.*

*(d) Do we want to end up being what England was in the 1950s, so that people are only educated if they are affluent? Is that our objective? I hope not.*

*(e) Many young people don't have sources of income, and may be in debt by the time they get to law school. I'd have to be persuaded that raising the professional school fees is a good idea.*

*(f) Professional students should pay a higher percentage of graduate education. In the 1960s the concept was that the state needs to help create a professional middle class. To do that we need to subsidize professional schools. We did it, there is now a plethora of professionals. I am a lawyer and we have too many lawyers.*

*(g) It is absolutely right that the state shouldn't support professional education.*

*(h) When people are in graduate school getting a degree in law or medicine they should pay for it, and the fees should be closer to what they would pay in a private school.*

*(i) The state shouldn't subsidize the professional programs. California is way out of line on this. In most places fees are much closer to real cost. There are also liabilities, especially the level of debt. But it seems absurd to me that we subsidize law schools and then a lawyer starts at $70,000 per year. Some poor guy who makes $30,000 a year shouldn't subsidize a law student who is going to make 70K.*

*(j) As a matter of public policy, it is wrong for taxpayers to finance graduate degrees in certain professions. Law schools, doctors, engineers, all of this should be financed 100% by students themselves or by loans.*

**3. CONTROVERSY: A greater role for private institutions?**

Several of the recommendations in *Time for Decision* deal with greater utilization of resources in the private institutions. One idea is to shift support toward individuals, and let them take the scholarships to private or public institutions. Another idea is to explore utilizing space in private institutions before building new campuses. Many of the panelists think that this is an excellent approach. Others see these strategies as a form of school vouchers for colleges which will weaken the public system and be open to abuses.

*(a) I am very much in favor of shifting support toward the students. What it does is to*

*bring in more competition, and it may break up the monopolistic character of higher education.*

*(b) What is wrong with working more closely with private institutions? I really don't know what the difference is anymore between a public and private institution. The public institutions do their own fund raising and the privates get money from the government.*

*(c) Suppose the state is spending x dollars on higher education. Right now they are supporting schools, which is inequitable. The state says, if you are smart enough to go to UC we give you a four-year scholarship. But there is not a penny for you if you want to go to Cal Tech or Pepperdine. It is a very inefficient way to use the money. We ought to decide how large a scholarship we want to give and offer them on a strictly competitive basis.*

*(d) It doesn't make a lot of sense to me to shift support from the institutions to individuals. You have mixed experience surrounding the voucher systems. The GI Bill, which in effect said pick your institution, was more problematic than most people realize. A fakery went on in so-called vocational schools that got in on it. I would rather fund the institutions and make damn sure they are good, and we have at various levels in the past proven that we can create good institutions.*

*(e) Wealthy people would certainly applaud utilizing the private institutions. Many of my friends are UC or CSU graduates, but now they want their children to go to private schools. This would subsidize the privates.*

SECTION FOUR

## Ambiguities

There were other areas where many of respondents felt that our questions needed to be further articulated and justified before they could give any opinion about them. For example, we reviewed with our respondents the idea of "linking state reinvestment to enrollment growth" and other reforms. Many of our respondents said that they were unable to comment on this approach until they knew what goals were envisioned, how the reforms would address those goals, and who would monitor the process. It is not that they thought that higher education should not reform itself or that it shouldn't emphasize enrollment. They were skeptical of reforms without a clearer articulation of goals, and they were especially skeptical about the ability of the Legislature to incentivize higher education.

*(a) It is the mechanics that bother me; you want to put more money into the system, reward those that are taking more students, punish those who are not. But this approach is funding-driven; it doesn't address the real issues of what you need to do in higher education.*

*(b) I wouldn't want to apply these formulas mechanistically. I think it is even more damaging to be mechanistic when there are fewer resources. It is probably less justifiable then, than in was in the time of growth.*

*(c) I think that government planners always look for formulas, without clear experience of how they work.*

*(d) There are things that might be done, but it becomes very expensive to monitor to see whether or not the reforms are really warranting the additional funding. I think when all is said and done you are tinkering on the fringes of the more major significant needs, when you start trying to do something like that. I doubt that it would really warrant the kind of expenditure. Every time someone talks about a reform it costs money.*

---

**About the Author:** John Immerwahr is a senior research fellow at Public Agenda, and professor and chair of the Philosophy Department at Villanova University. He is the author of *The Closing Gateway: Californians Consider Their Higher Education System*, and numerous other reports and articles.

Jill Boese is a research assistant at Public Agenda. She has worked on a number of projects on education and health care policy.

# Afterword

After many hours of conversation with leaders and the public, both in this current study and in our previous research, one message emerges clearly: higher education, one of California's most precious resources, is moving beyond the financial grasp of most of its citizens. And, there is substantial agreement among leadership that the problem is not solely a matter of funding. Leaders and the public recognize the impact of the sluggish economic growth and a growing population on higher education. Indeed, no one thinks there are easy answers.

But whether the ultimate solutions involve tinkering with the current system or launching a fundamental overhaul, neither leaders nor the public appears confident that the issue will actually be addressed with any real purposefulness. Despite its critical importance to both the public and leadership, higher education always seems to be somehow less urgent than crime or jobs or immigration. It is lower on the political agenda. It does not attract the same level of media attention. Many leaders interviewed for this study told us that they do not believe that the underlying issues will ever be addressed without some very special effort.

Again and again, as we conversed with leaders, they called for some "public space"—some forum or public process that would generate a statewide discussion of the issue. As Public Agenda has found in all of its research on attitudes toward education reform, the American public is neither apathetic nor unwilling to tackle the hard task of finding solutions, if they are but invited to join the conversation. In this study of California leadership, the desire to participate and to be heard could not have been more clearly articulated.

Whether and how such a conversation can be initiated remains a question. The time for decision, however, is near. In California, as in the nation, failure to deliberate openly is to invite serious public resistance to reform.

*Deborah Wadsworth*
*Executive Director*
*Public Agenda*

APPENDIX

# Methodology

This study reports the results of confidential, in-depth interviews with twenty-nine leaders in California. The leaders were selected with the help of a distinguished advisory panel consisting of Governor George Deukmejian, Daniel Garcia, Sidney Harman and Clark Kerr. Although this is in no way intended to be a representative sample, the panel was designed to represent a wide variety of perspectives and view points. The panel includes both men and women, Republicans, Democrats and Independents, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Caucasians and Latinos. We deliberately excluded higher education professionals (active professors and administrators), but a follow-up project is planned which will survey academics. The respondents agreed to have their names listed (see below) on the condition that their specific comments would not be for attribution.

Each of the panelists was asked to react to a synopsis of Time for Decision, a draft report issued by the Center in March 1994. The synopsis gave the respondents a common focus and a common starting point but they generally used the interview as a springboard for their own thinking. The respondents were interviewed in telephone conversations which typically lasted 45 minutes. The comments were transcribed and analyzed for common themes and areas of diversity and consensus. The interviews were conducted between August and November 1994. With such a varied group, of course, there are only a few things where we found virtual unanimity. Nonetheless, there are a number of areas of high consensus where many of the leaders (at least three quarters) agree in one way or another, and other areas of considerable controversy.

### Interviewees

Joseph F. Alibrandi
Chairman & CEO
Whittaker Corporation

Mary G.F. Bitterman
President & CEO
KQED, Inc.

Otis Chandler
Retired Publisher,
*Los Angeles Times*
Former CEO & Current Board Member
Times Mirror Company

Roger Clay, Jr.
Partner
Goldfarb & Lipman

George Deukmejian
Former Governor of California
Partner, Sidley & Austin

Louis Friedman
Executive Vice President
E. & J. Gallo Winery

Milton Friedman
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution

James C. Gaither
Partner
Cooley, Godward, Castro, Huddleson & Tatum

Daniel P. Garcia
Senior Vice President
Real Estate Planning and Public Affairs
Warner Brothers

John Gardner
Graduate School of Business
Stanford University

Frank O. Gehry
Principal in Charge
Frank O. Gehry & Associates

Laura Geller
Senior Rabbi
Temple Emanuel

Madelyn Glickfeld
Academic Director
The Streisand Center for Conservancy Studies

Sidney Harman
Chairman
Harman International Industries, Inc.

Louis H. Heilbron
Retired Partner
Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe

Gary H. Hunt
Executive Vice President
Irvine Company

Larry Jinks
Former Publisher
*San Jose Mercury News*

Clark Kerr
President Emeritus
University of California

Stewart Kwoh
Executive Director & President
Asian Pacific American Legal Center

Estella Martinez
Community Liaison
OPTIMA

Edwin Meese III
Ronald Reagan Fellow in Public Policy
The Heritage Foundation

Fernando Olguin
Director of Education
Mexican American Legal Defense & Educational Fund

Peter Schrag
Editorial Page Editor
*Sacramento Bee*

Ellen Severoni
Executive Director
California Health Decisions

Joe Shapiro
Executive Vice President
The Walt Disney Company

Brenda Shockley
President
Community Build

Harold Williams
President & CEO
J. Paul Getty Trust

Robert Wycoff
President Emeritus
Atlantic Richfield Company

Narda Zacchino
Associate Editor
*Los Angeles Times*

# About Public Agenda

Founded a decade ago by public opinion analyst Daniel Yankelovich and former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Public Agenda works to help average citizens better understand critical policy issues and to help the nation's leaders better understand the public's point of view. Public Agenda's in-depth research on how average citizens think about policy forms the basis for its extensive citizen education work. Its citizen education materials, used by the National Issues Forums and media outlets across the country, have won praise for their credibility and fairness from elected officials from both political parties and from experts and decision-makers across the political spectrum.


**Officers**

Cyrus Vance
Chairman

Daniel Yankelovich
President

Maurice Lazarus
Executive Committee Chairman

**Board of Directors**

Ted Ashley
Warner Communications, Inc.

William T. Coleman, Jr.
O'Melveny & Myers

John Diebold
The JD Consulting Group, Inc.

Sidney Harman
Harman International Industries, Inc.

Bobby R. Inman
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Retired

David Mathews
The Kettering Foundation

Ann McLaughlin
Former U.S. Secretary of Labor

Judith Davidson Moyers
Public Affairs Television, Inc.

Joe B. Wyatt
Vanderbilt University

**Member Emeritus**
Frank Stanton
Former President, CBS

**Executive Director**
Deborah Wadsworth

**Vice Presidents**
Jean Johnson
Keith Melville

**Public Agenda Staff**

Steve Farkas
Director of Research

John Immerwahr
Senior Research Fellow

Jean Johnson
Director of Programs

Kathie Johnson
Director of Administration

Keith Melville
Managing Editor, National Issues Forums

Margaret Suzor
Director of Communications

Jill A. Boese
Research Assistant

William E. Carr
Assistant Director of Communications

Caroline Corbin
Research Assistant

Arlene N. Fliesler
Executive Assistant

Will Friedman
Research Associate

Janet Polokoff
Receptionist

## Policy Review Board

The Hon. John Brademas
New York University

Robert A. Burnett
Meredith Corporation

Louis W. Cabot
Cabot Corporation, Inc.

Patricia Carbine
Ms. Foundation for Education & Communication

Edward W. Carter
Carter, Hawley, Hale, Stores, Inc.

Lisle C. Carter, Jr., Esq.
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Dick Clark
The Aspen Institute

William K. Coors
Adolph Coors Co.

John C. Culver
Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn

The Honorable Douglas Dillon
New York

John T. Dunlop
Harvard University

William D. Eberle
Ebco, Inc.

Marian Wright Edelman
Children's Defense Fund

William Ellinghaus
Former President AT&T

Murray H. Finley
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union

John W. Gardner
Stanford University

Walter E. Hoadley
Hoover Institution

Shirley Hufstedler
Hufstedler, Miller, Carlson & Beardsley

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld

Clark Kerr
University of California

Franklin A. Lindsay
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Honorable Sol M. Linowitz
Coudert Brothers

Gilbert C. Maurer
The Hearst Corporation

James P. McFarland
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Ruben F. Mettler
TRW, Inc.

J. Irwin Miller
Cummins Engine Company

Newton N. Minow, Esq.
Sidley and Austin

Eleanor Holmes Norton
Congresswoman
Washington, DC

Jane C. Pfeiffer
Greenwich, Connecticut

The Honorable Elliot Richardson
Millbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy

David E. Rogers
The New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center

The Honorable George Romney
Bloomfield Hills, MI

William M. Roth
San Francisco, CA

Jerome S. Rubin
Times Mirror Co.

William Ruder
William Ruder, Inc.

Sophie Sa
Panasonic Foundation, Inc.

Hershel B. Sarbin
Hershel B. Sarbin Assoc., Inc.

John Sawhill
Nature Conservancy

Adele Simmons
The John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Elmer B. Staats
Former Comptroller General

Lester Thurow
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Members of the Board of Directors also serve on the Policy Review Board

# Related Publications by Public Agenda

Reports available from Public Agenda* can be ordered by calling or writing Public Agenda at 6 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016, tel: (212) 686-6610, FAX: (212) 889-3461.

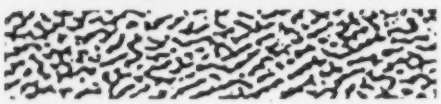
**First Things First: What Americans Expect from the Public Schools.* 1994.
Based on the findings from a national study of the views of over 1,100 members of the general public, including 550 parents of children currently in public school, this report examines public attitudes toward values issues in the schools as well as attitudes toward many education reform efforts. The report, in addition to reporting findings from the general public, offers detailed analyses of the views of white and African-American parents, as well as parents identified as traditional Christians. In essence, this report is a report card from the public on the education reform movement that was just beginning four years ago. Copies are available from Public Agenda for $10.00.

**Divided Within, Besieged Without: The Politics of Education in Four American School Districts.* 1993.
Prepared by Public Agenda for the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. The result of two years of education reform research and over 200 face-to-face interviews with teachers, principals, administrators, school board members, parents, and business executives in four typical school systems, this report reveals a significant barrier to educational reform—political gridlock among education stakeholders. It describes the substantial in-fighting and communication gaps among these groups and concludes with several recommendations for improving dialogue. The report can be ordered from Public Agenda for $10.00.

*The Closing Gateway: Californians Consider Their Higher Education System.* 1993.
This report was prepared by Public Agenda for the California Higher Education Policy Center. Based on the views expressed in eight California focus groups and phone surveys in California and across the nation, the study documents Californians' perceptions of the cost, accessibility, value, and opportunity in their higher education system and compares these attitudes with broader national attitudes citizens hold about their own state's higher education systems. See list of California Higher Education Policy Center publications for ordering information.

**Crosstalk: The Public, the Experts, and Competitiveness.* 1991.
A Research Report from Public Agenda and the Business-Higher Education Forum. The report describes a gap between the way leaders and the public view the issue of US economic competitiveness and the associated crisis in education and work force training. The report is $17.50 and can be ordered from Public Agenda.

# THE CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY CENTER



Single copies of this publication are available from The California Higher Education Policy Center, 160 West Santa Clara Street, Suite 704, San Jose, California 95113. For an immediate response, please FAX all requests to (408) 287-6709. Ask for Report No. 95-3.

Copyright, 1995, by Public Agenda and The California Higher Education Policy Center. Copies may not be sold. The Center grants permission to copy and distribute this publication, with acknowledgment of the California Higher Education Policy Center.

The California Higher Education Policy Center is a nonprofit, independent, nonpartisan organization created to stimulate public discussion and debate concerning the purposes, goals and organization of higher education in California.

## Reports Published By
## The California Higher Education Policy Center

93-1 PUBLIC POLICY BY ANECDOTE: The Case of Community College Fees. By William H. Trombley. April 1993.

93-2 THE CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY VACUUM: The Example of Student Fees. By Patrick M. Callan. April 1993.

93-3 THE PRESS AND CALIFORNIA HIGHER EDUCATION. By William Chance. May 1993.

93-4 BY DESIGN OR DEFAULT? By Patrick M. Callan and Joni E. Finney. June 1993.

93-5 ON THE BRINK: The Impact of Budget Cuts on California's Public Universities. By Jack McCurdy and William Trombley. August 1993.

93-6 THE CLOSING GATEWAY: Californians Consider Their Higher Education System. By John Immerwahr and Steve Farkas. September 1993.

94-1 TIME FOR DECISION: California's Legacy and the Future of Higher Education. March 1994.

94-4 BROKEN PROMISES: The Impact of Budget Cuts and Fee Increases on the California Community Colleges. By Jack McCurdy. October 1994.

95-1 FINANCING THE PLAN: California's Master Plan for Higher Education, 1960–1994. By William Pickens. February 1995.

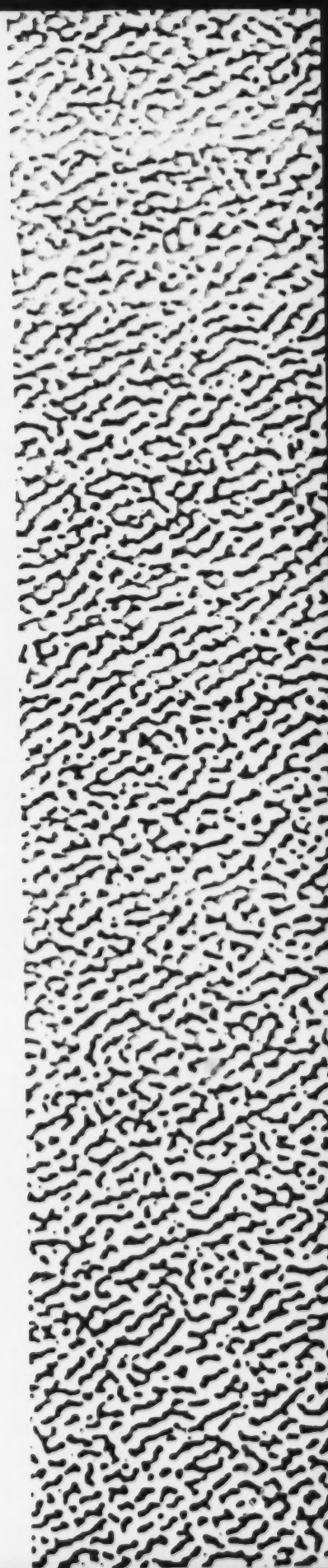
95-2 A STATE OF EMERGENCY? Higher Education in California. By David W. Breneman. February 1995.

95-3 PRESERVING THE LEGACY: A Conversation with California Leaders. By John Immerwahr with Jill Boese. March 1995.

## Occasional Papers Published By
## The California Higher Education Policy Center

94-2 A MODEST PROPOSAL . . . for Saving University Research from the Budget Butcher. By Jack Miles. September 1994.

94-3 PRESERVING THE MASTER PLAN: What is to be Done in a New Epoch of More Limited Growth of Resources? By Clark Kerr. October 1994.





160 West Santa Clara Street, Suite 704, San Jose, California 95113